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AN ADEQUATE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM: THE CASE OF YONKERS, NEW YORK

Lyman B. Burbank

THE PROBLEM

In September, 1953, the Citizens Committee for Improving the Public Schools was formed in Yonkers, New York. Disturbed because of conditions thought to exist in the local schools, this Committee complained to the State Commissioner of Education about the following matters:

1. over-crowded classes
2. a high teacher turnover
3. low per-pupil expenditure
4. low teacher salaries
5. inadequacy of school supplies
6. unsanitary conditions in some schools

Commissioner Lewis A. Wilson directed the Corporation Counsel of the City of Yonkers to answer the charges of the Citizens Committee. This was done on February 11, 1955, after which public hearings were held. Then, in April, Commissioner Wilson, taking an action described by him as "uncommon," ordered the Yonkers Board of Education to submit to him, by January 1, 1956, "sufficient evidence of an adequate program, both in respect to its educational offerings and its building needs for the ensuing year." Unless the evidence were submitted, the Commissioner threatened to withhold further State aid.

THE SETTING

Politics, economics and sociology had as much to do with school difficulties in Yonkers as did the policies of the Board of Education.

Yonkers, stretching north and south along the Hudson River, grew in the nineteenth century to be an industrial town quite separate and distinct from its neighbor, New York City. Getty Square, on the slopes leading to the river, early became the center of both business and political activity.

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The north-south traffic by river, and similar traffic on the New York Central Railroad, closely paralleling the river, were sufficient reasons for the population to have settled in the vicinity. The hills of the city's "hinterland," having little communication with the Hudson River shoreline, were slow to grow. This "hinterland," politically designated as wards number nine through twelve, grew rapidly only after the second world war, when the mad rush to the suburbs became such an important part of American life. When that happened, the newcomers to Yonkers were frequently persons who worked in New York City, who commuted each day, and who had little or no connection with the politics of Getty Square. In 1940, three quarters of the people of Yonkers lived in "old town"—that is, in wards number one through eight, along the river's edge. The same was no longer true by 1955, but at that time three of the city's four police stations were still in "old town." Between 1945 and 1954, the population of Yonkers increased by 19,381, and most of these people had moved into wards nine through twelve.

The sprawling Alexander Smith Company, in "old town," had grown to be the world's largest carpet factory and the city's only significant industrial rival was the Otis Elevator Company. Employment at Smith reached its peak in the early forties, but post-war difficulties abounded and by the spring of 1954 the plant had closed its doors, leaving hundreds without jobs.¹ The company moved to Greenville, Mississippi, where the city had built an air conditioned one-floor plant to the design of company engineers.

Having lost its largest industry, and the tax roll having suffered accordingly, Yonkers in 1954 was faced with another crisis. Otis announced it would invest heavily in its Yonkers plant upon completion of "satisfactory arrangements with city authorities on proposals which the company will make." The company then asked for relief from "unwarrantably high tax assessments." The 1955 Otis plant valuation stood at \$3,010,250, and the company asked that it be reduced to \$2,265,280.

The alternative offered by Otis was to move to a more modern

¹ The U. S. census of 1950 showed the Yonkers population to be 152,798. Of these, 147,782 were whites, and of these whites, 25,695 were foreign born. There follows a list, in the proper order, of the nine countries from which most of these foreign born had come:

1. Italy	6041	6. USSR	1503
2. Poland	2393	7. England and Wales	1319
3. Germany	2326	8. Scotland	1790
4. Ireland	2317	9. Czechoslovakia	1132
5. Austria	1913		

plant in the Middle West. The fact that the company got virtually what it wanted from the city, and that it eventually did invest heavily in the Yonkers plant, cannot conceal the fact that at a time when public education needed badly to have more money from the city a major industrial dislocation was threatened if tax relief were not forthcoming.

That the events connected with Alexander Smith and Otis were not disastrous to the city was because of the opening, in April, 1954, of the giant new Cross County Shopping Center, in the eastern part of the city. With parking facilities for 5140 cars, and with an employed staff of approximately 3000, this center was at that time the world's largest suburban mercantile mart. When opened, it was apparent that much new revenue would accrue to the City of Yonkers, but the exact nature of the problems and blessings the center would bring nobody could accurately foretell.

THE DIFFICULTIES

When Commissioner Wilson made his threat to withhold further state aid, he admitted that Yonkers was perilously close to its constitutional tax limit, but he added that "it is not clear" that "moneys may not be made available for educational purposes which are, perhaps, being diverted to other less important uses." Exactly what money was referred to, it is difficult to know, but that money was needed could scarcely be denied. By any standards, Yonkers' schools were in bad shape.

In April, 1955, the Metropolitan School Study Council issued a report showing that the schools in the New York metropolitan area were spending an average of \$400 per pupil, compared with a national average of \$260. However, for Yonkers the figure was low, as the following table shows:

SCHOOL ENROLLMENT, TAX RATE AND COST PER PUPIL
IN SIX WESTCHESTER COUNTY COMMUNITIES

Community	Enrollment Jan., 1955	School Tax Rate 1954-55	Cost/Pupil 1953-54
		11.99 (54)	299.34
Yonkers	21,694	11.75 (55)	
New Rochelle	8,786	17.20	436.65
Mount Vernon	10,885	20.10	408.32
White Plains	7,764	19.60	474.12
Bronxville	1,228	18.63	700.04
Hastings	1,497	22.98	453.35
Scarsdale	3,228	24.59	567.79
Tuckahoe	942	23.54	523.32

In early 1955, a beginning teacher who had completed four years of college was paid \$3200 by the City of Yonkers. The following table shows the relationship between this salary and the salaries being paid by neighboring communities in Westchester County:

Community	minimum	maximum
Yonkers	3200	6400
Mount Vernon	3500	7100
New Rochelle	3700	7700
White Plains	3800	8600
Rye	3500	6500
Peekskill	3400	6600

On April 15, 1955, the Yonkers *Herald-Statesman* reported as follows on the size of elementary classes in the city:

number of classes	size
7	40 or more
94	35-39
131	30-34
146	25-29
4	20-24
8	15-19
10	less than 15

Dr. Stanley Wynstra, Superintendent of Schools in Yonkers, estimated early in 1955 that it would take between ten and fifteen million dollars over a period of some years to put the schools in order, and added that the city could raise \$150,000 more and still be within the 2% tax limit limposed by the state. Some comments on the Yonkers tax problem are in order.

The State of New York had made available certain taxes which localities might use for raising revenue. Theoretically, Yonkers might have used any of the following taxes, in addition to the usual real estate levy:

1. a retail sales tax
2. a 5% tax on restaurant meals over \$1.00
3. a theatre admissions tax of 5%
4. a 3% tax on consumer utility bills
5. an auto use tax
6. a tax on hotel rooms for transients
7. a tax on liquor store licenses
8. a tax on coin-operated amusement devices

In 1955 the only non-property revenue in Yonkers came from a tax on admissions to harness racing and a 1% tax on gross earnings of public utility companies. Other taxes, which might have been used,

were unpopular. When the Cross County Shopping Center was dedicated, Yonkers residents rejoiced over the probability that a great many New Yorkers would cross the sales tax boundary line to buy in Westchester County's tax-free area. No wonder talk of a sales tax in Yonkers aroused little enthusiasm. In December, 1955, City Manager Curran told the annual public budget hearing that only a retail sales tax would provide extra school money, and that he opposed it.

Early in 1956 Yonkers asked that the state share its revenues from the Yonkers Raceway, and it was proposed that this would be a long-term solution to the school finance problem. However, nothing came of the various schemes and proposals put forth in Albany by several leading Yonkers politicians.² Designed to evade the issue by forcing the financial question into state politics, and seeking the aid of the state in the school crisis, the raceway proposals do serve to illustrate the principal problem in Yonkers. The fact of the matter was that the Common Council, composed of one member from each ward, found it politically inexpedient to vote new taxes.

To say that Yonkers lacked civic pride and was indifferent to the fate of its schools would be most inaccurate. Previous neglect, through the period of depression and war, rather than existing indifference, was the primary cause of outmoded schools and depreciated plant. The activities of the Parent-Teacher organizations, and of several other groups, bear testimony to the fact that interest in the schools was high in 1955.³

The low tax rate in Yonkers was an attractive feature which helped to draw thousands of newcomers to the city after the second world war. These people, who, for the most part, settled in the eastern wards of the city, represented a great deal of the city's wealth, but their voting power in the Common Council was in no manner proportionate either to their wealth or their numbers. Faced with a situation in which the newcomers began asserting themselves, Yonkers soon found that its politicians, who knew their way around Getty

² No attempt can here be made to assess the role of the raceway in Yonkers politics. However, it should be pointed out that on January 6, 1954, a contribution of \$100,000 for civic purposes was made by the Yonkers Trotting Association to the city.

³ In April, 1955, the Yonkers Council of Parent-Teacher Associations reported a membership of 12,545. A two hundred percent gain in one decade had come at a time when the school population had risen only fifteen percent. Of 639 teachers eligible for membership in 1955, 540 had joined.

The Council also reported that it spent \$13,000 on text-books, visual-aids material and library books in 1953-54. This money came from fund-raising events in the different schools.

Square, were rather ingenious at the business of preserving existing privilege and power. In all human societies change brings with it a high degree of resistance to change. The disproportionate representative system in Yonkers is demonstrated by the following figures for the city at election time, 1954.⁴

REGISTERED VOTERS IN YONKERS, BY WARDS

ward	reg. voters 1954	approx. % reg. voters
first	3,786	5.3
second	2,694	3.8
third	6,641	9.5
fourth	6,381	9.3
fifth	4,744	6.7
sixth	6,548	9.2
seventh	3,111	4.4
eighth	5,891	8.3
ninth	8,498	12.0
tenth	5,998	8.5
eleventh	7,851	11.0
twelfth	8,576	12.0

The city of Yonkers has time after time shown a Republican majority for state and federal offices. However, in 1953 ten of the city's Councilmen were Democrats. The strength of the Democratic party is in "old town," and Republicans who live there are as under-represented in the Council as are the Democrats who happen to reside in the eastern area of the city. The demand for school reform has come, to a very large extent, from the newcomers of the eastern areas, but under the existing ward system these people have been unable to express their beliefs in the form of proper political action.

Another factor is involved—a factor about which it is most difficult ever to make an accurate judgment. Reference is made to the attitude of the people of Yonkers to the parochial schools. In 1954, public school enrollment stood at approximately 23,000 and parochial school enrollment at about 10,000, most of whom were in elementary schools.

Approximately \$6,000,000 in church-related construction was either planned, begun or completed in Yonkers in 1955. Heading the list was the Elizabeth Seton School building in ward three. In the spring of 1955, the St. Peters Roman Catholic elementary school, with facilities for 950 boys and girls, was completed. Built in the

⁴ Yonkers *Herald-Statesman*, November 5, 1954. In the election of that year the people voted 25,897 to 19,110 in favor of retaining the existing ward system.

first ward, this school cost approximately \$1,400,000. During the same year, the Church of Christ the King, in the third ward, began construction of an eight-classroom parish elementary school building. In the second ward, growth of the parish school in the Polish-speaking area served by St. Casimir's Church brought completion of a new \$350,000 convent.

All this construction, and all the interest which had brought it about, was the result of unprecedented prosperity and of the increase in population in Yonkers. One fact seems pertinent—namely, that most of the construction of parochial schools was in "old town," whose inhabitants carried more than their share of political power at Getty Square. It is not easy to make any judgment about the relationship between the religious situation and the public school problems in Yonkers. It is best, perhaps, simply to point to the figures, which show quite clearly that the wards having the largest Protestant and Jewish populations were the ones with the least amount of political power at Getty Square.⁵

Were it to be claimed that the reason for some of the Common Council's indifference to the fate of the public school system in Yonkers was because some of its members were more partial to the parochial schools, the argument would be most difficult to prove. As of early 1955, only one member of the mayor-appointed nine member Board of Education had a child in public school, but it is also true that Dr. Louis Keating, a prominent Catholic surgeon and a Board member, was an able champion of the cause of the public schools. So also was Dr. Arthur Templeton, a Catholic who was School Business Administrator. When, in November 1955, the Citizens Committee for Improving the Public Schools held a rally, the first annual award of the committee was presented to Dr. Keating, who was hailed for his courageous efforts in behalf of public education in the city of Yonkers.

ATTEMPTED SOLUTIONS

Over and over again Yonkers officials complained that the primary reason for not spending more for the schools was because of state law. Whether this was an excuse or a reason can never be known, although the evidence suggests that it was, in fact, both.

Much talk was heard from several sources about "fiscal inde-

⁵ No accurate figure for the religious affiliations of the people of Yonkers can be given, although the indications are that in 1955 Yonkers was about one half Roman Catholic. The Protestant and Jewish faiths shared in the construction boom, but most of their buildings were churches, parish houses or Sunday school buildings.

pendence" for the Board of Education as being the answer to the educational problems in Yonkers. By this it was meant that the Board ought to be able to levy its own taxes, and thus become independent of the mayor and council. This independence, although opposed by the Yonkers Council of Civic and Taxpayers Associations, appeared to be part of the State Education Department's plan for a long-range solution to the fiscal problems facing the city. The plan was to permit Yonkers, and several other cities, to establish independent school districts after a favorable vote in a referendum. Existing law, which imposed a tax limit of 2% of the average assessed valuation of real property over a five year period, was to be altered such that it would impose a limit of 1.15% on the proposed school district, and 1.35% on the city, thus raising the total levy to 2.5%.⁶ A constitutional amendment would have been required to carry out this plan, but the whole thing died in the Legislature in the spring of 1956.

When Yonkers had a look at the city's proposed new budget in the autumn of 1955, it appeared that the Board of Education would receive \$700,000 more than in the previous year, but that it would still be short \$800,000 of what it had requested.

Reaction to the new budget was immediate, as follows:

1. The City Manager, throwing the burden directly upon the state, as he had so often done in the past, said the school problem resulted from constitutional tax restrictions over which Yonkers had no control.
2. The Board of Education unanimously adopted the new budget, after having cancelled proposed salary increases for teachers and, at the same time, labeled it as inadequate.
3. The Chairman and Co-Chairman of the Citizens Committee for Improving the Public Schools demanded that the state withhold further aid to Yonkers.
4. Salary raises for teachers having been cancelled, the Yonkers Teachers Association threatened to carry out a program of "minimum services"—that is, to protest by refusing to perform extra-curricular duties.⁷ The Chamber of Delegates of

⁶ In 1952, two bills which would have resulted in fiscal independence for the Board of Education in Yonkers had been killed in the Legislature.

⁷ Commissioner Wilson had instructed Yonkers to submit to him evidence of an adequate program "both in respect to its educational offerings and its building needs." With this in mind, the Board of Education voted to transfer money designed for salary raises and use it for supplies, equipment and other needs.

the Association passed a resolution to "adopt a teaching program shorn of after-school activities" and to set up emergency committees to carry out the program.

As part of a teacher campaign to force a 5% raise in salary, the "minimum program" was threatened at a most opportune time. However, the Board of Education told the teachers they would be "well advised" to withhold any action until the Commissioner's decision had been rendered. This they agreed to do.

At the end of 1955, the Yonkers Board of Education made its report to the Commissioner.⁸ The Board informed the Commissioner that the inadequate budget, for which it claimed the City Council to be responsible, had made it impossible to recruit new teachers and thus to reduce elementary school classes to thirty five or fewer pupils.

At this point a word needs to be said about what Yonkers had actually done with regard to its school construction and maintenance program during the year 1955. Arthur D. Templeton, School Business Administrator, wrote in his 1955 report that the Yonkers school system had never "inaugurated and accomplished so vast a building program." He listed the following accomplishments:

1. During the year the Board of Education had awarded 126 contracts valued at \$6,002,699.41 (not including architect fees).
2. The maintenance mechanic staff had been enlarged, and "no other single action had produced so much for the monies expended."

In January, 1956, ground was broken for completion of the Southeastern Yonkers Junior-Senior High School. The finishing of this school, at a cost not to exceed \$5,000,000, had been voted by the Common Council in mid-summer, 1955.

In spite of the building program for 1955, a budget in which 94% of the funds went for salaries and wages had left little room for the other items. Except for coaching fees and salaries, not a penny had been budgeted in 1955 for high school athletics.

In 1955 a special survey revealed that of the 37 public schools in the city of Yonkers, 7 had libraries which met the minimum standards set by the New York State Board of Education and the American Library Association. The Supervisor of School Libraries stated that it would take 31,027 books, as well as annual replacements and additions, to get Yonkers schools to the minimum requirements.

⁸ Dr. James E. Allen Jr. became the new Commissioner in September, 1955.

In May, 1955, the Principal of Roosevelt High School said he had received no library books or magazines for more than three years.

THE COMMISSIONER'S DECISION

The Yonkers Board of Education having reported to the Commissioner, public hearings were held. Some wondered about the propriety of the city's action in hiring special counsel to represent it, while the city's own corporation counsel represented the Board of Education.

Immediately after the public hearings, interested parties began preparation of briefs and rebuttals, to be completed within the 17 days given them by the Commissioner. Events moved swiftly, and, designed partly to influence the Commissioner while he was deciding his course of action, they took the following form:

1. The Yonkers Common Council authorized four bond issues, totaling \$775,626, to be issued at the call of the Board of Education. Nearly \$500,000 was for new equipment, and nearly \$200,000 was to be used for text books and replacements. Over \$51,000 was for furniture and \$33,800 was to go for window shades and drapes.
2. In Albany, a bi-partisan bill was introduced to give Yonkers, and some other cities, special contributions of state funds with which to pay what appeared to be probable mandatory teacher salary increases in September.
3. A series of 11 bills, designed to carry out recommendations of the Temporary Commission on Educational Finance (the Heald Commission) were introduced in the Legislature, with bi-partisan support, on February 13, a few days before the due date for the briefs and rebuttals.⁹

On March 15, 1956, the New York Assembly passed, without dissent, a measure providing for a Supreme Court Review of decisions of the Commissioner in cases such as the existing one. There were public expressions of doubt that the administrators should have such power over the disbursements of state funds. That may have been the

⁹ The 342 page Heald Commission report, presented to the Governor and Legislature, was the result of a study begun in August, 1954. Among other things, the report recommended increased state aid for education, and held that Westchester County could have raised \$13,000,000 from taxes other than real estate (using 1954 figures). Of this, \$11,800,000 could have come from a 2% sales tax, with food exempted. From a tax on motor vehicles, \$1,400,000 could have been realized, and from a 25% share of retail liquor license fees, \$182,000 could have been obtained, \$332,000 could have come from a 5% tax on admissions.

reason for the bill, or it may have been the excuse, but the fact remains that the timing of the bill was such that the only logical conclusion could be that pressure on the Commissioner was, in fact, the aim. Perhaps in order to soften the effect a bit, and to make it appear that pressure was not being exerted, the bill was designed to take effect in September.

About a week later, the Senate passed the same bill, again by unanimous vote. It went to Governor Harriman, who vetoed it. Meanwhile Commissioner Allen had made his decision.

The Commissioner ordered payment of full state aid to the city of Yonkers, saying that the proposed program for 1956 would bring about "substantial improvements in the school system," but that the evidence was insufficient "to support a final determination of the adequacy" of the Yonkers school program. He spoke of "facts, opinions, charges and counter charges." Dr. Wilson, he said, had suggested a survey as a means of ascertaining the true facts about education in Yonkers, and this was again recommended. Such a survey, said Dr. Allen, should be broad enough to "review the administrative and fiscal relationship between the city school district and the city government." The Commissioner felt that the permanent solution would lie with a fiscally independent Board of Education.

Yonkers was paroled but did not go free. The Board was ordered to report again on January 1, 1957, regarding its stewardship in 1956 and its plans for 1957. The *New York Times*, referring to the decision as "disappointingly inconclusive," held that if the Commissioner felt that some measure of inadequacy still existed, his criticism was "so mild as to be almost inaudible." In any case, the immediate result of it all was the beginning of a survey of the school system, conducted jointly under the auspices of the Yonkers Board of Education and the State Department of Education.

As for the teachers, they immediately began their "minimum program," and by August the City Council had voted to borrow \$140,707.50 so they could obtain a 5% increase in salary for the last part of the year.

Lyman B. Burbank is lecturer in History and Social Studies in Yale University Graduate School.

VARYING MORES IN SCHOOL AND COLLEGE CULTURES

Janet A. Kelley

It is very enlightening that the word "culture" has finally become associated with the term "school." Certainly the school or college is a culture—matrix with customs, prescriptive usage, social roles, and instruments used to elicit or suppress behavior. A college or school without a culture-pattern is no more possible than a person without a character. Whenever a group of individuals live together in an organized community as a school or college is, they develop forms of behavior and a culture exists which determines the conduct of the members of the group. The control of this group behavior comes only when we understand the mechanisms of group living.

The forms of behavior on a campus reflect and are the result of the various elements in the school or college culture. There is first of all the culture which the students bring from their varying cultural backgrounds of their group life. Second, there is an institutional culture which operates in terms of the cultural heritage and the particular social system (custom, traditions, ways of interaction, activities, and sentiments) which it has created. Third, there is the physical culture, the geographical surroundings, the buildings, material equipment which create ways of behavior and facilitate communication or fail to do so—all of these are reflected in student behavior.

Student life also differs, according to the way schools, colleges, or universities fulfill functions, whether they emphasize solely the academic, the vocational, or social or all three. The definition of the school's or college's objectives will undoubtedly affect their school or campus behavior.

Along with the official school or college functions and organization is enmeshed unofficial cultural patterns, which exist not only on the part of students, but also on the part of faculty and administrators, and both these types of culture must be understood in estimating the net educational effect of an educational institution. Norms governing speech, language, dress, study, humor, sportsmanship, recreation, dating, initiations, patterns of sociality, and the like in school and college cultures are indicators of the individual's behavior just as much as psychometric or physiometric studies stressed by some educators.

While the school or college campus has its own peculiar cultural features, it also reflects trends in the larger social setting. Waller's study of "rating and dating" complex on the college campus showed manifestation of traits common to our entire culture: Acquisitiveness, competitiveness, and the cult of success. The Hollingshead study of Elmtown Youth showed that social behavior of high school adoles-

cents appears to be related functionally to the positions their families occupy in the social structure of the community.

Student culture derives its properties from the whole college community, and also from the greater whole outside culture. It might be pointed out that therein lies the answer and solution to some of the problems in student culture.

The question has been asked, "Are the mores of Queen's Days, rough initiations, costume dances, etc., normal for late high school and college youth or for the age span of 14-22 years of age? Certainly, the desire for social status is quite normal during these years, and all these practices involve that desire. However, it is a different story when distortions and undesirable behavior in these practices occur. But let us take a look at student culture during this age period. Adolescence (early, middle, late) is a time for social expansion and development and the peer group assumes great importance. Youth desire to find acceptance in the eyes of their age-mates, and will frequently go to extreme lengths to gain or maintain such acceptance. Deviation from group norms is usually unthinkable and when it does occur, it tends to be promptly and frankly penalized by the group. The real leader in adolescent culture is the person who comes closest to realizing first of all the norms that the student culture values highest. Through social interactions with their peers, youth learn how to get along. They learn to extend their skills and values. They learn standards and expectations that others have for them. Wholesome social interaction is indeed a means for gaining social maturity. The lack of wholesome social relationships or distortions in them are reflected in distorted values, concepts, and behavior. Above all, an important characteristic of adolescence is the opinion of one's own age group. However, one must conform not only to the opinion but the appearance of other students.

If saddle shoes, insect pins, men's shirts hanging out of blue jeans, are worn by adolescent girls, then the girl who wishes to escape the opprobrium of being different must wear the clothes in fashion. Boys are no exception—the same slang, mannerisms, way of dress and attitude as that of the gang must be adopted if he wishes to be accepted. The almost universal acceptance by a whole school's adolescent population of a fad, such as yo-yos, bug pins, a type of dance, or some departure from normal speech illustrates the intra-group (shall we say "conservative") quality of adolescents. On the college level, students may pride themselves on being "bohemian"—men grow "beards" or try to raid women's dormitories; women wear jeans or exaggerated costumes—all of which bespeak at least a desire for *laissez-faire* bohemian existence—stereotyped as it is! And let

one college start some of these things and soon it reverberates around the country—imitation and diffusion!

An adolescent often wants to be "different," but the difference usually takes the direction of conformity to certain basic patterns of peer behavior, or of conformity in an even greater degree to the dictates of an "in-group" who are trying to emphasize their differences from the "outsiders." Particularly on the college campus are informal group norms (sorority-fraternity, club groups) a great force on individual behavior in competitive situations. The student is constrained not by student norms in general but by those of a particular group or clique.

The individual in any group may have two roles, the role he actually plays and his conception of that role. He may be the non-communicative member of a group but may at the same time be picturing himself as the great leader. Queen's days, "big-time" elections, "Solving-world-problems," may be extensions of role-conceptions. Whatever role an individual plays in a group, it must be remembered that it is exceedingly important, even though the adult observer may consider the role trivial and unimportant. There seems to be general agreement that the peer group is good because it may give an adolescent security, opportunity for status, and a feeling of belonging. It acts as an agency of control and a place to learn.

Let us take another, more serious look at student culture which may have something to do with "Queens," "rough initiations," "clothes," "elections," etc.

The secondary and college student in our culture is generally withdrawn from the community, living in the all-embracing school or university atmosphere. Because of this withdrawal and other realities of late high school and college society; viz., age selection, existence in a socio-political vacuum and the pressures resulting from rival competitions for academic distinctions, and for social prestige and success—it is not surprising that socio-political irresponsibility and the cult of success receive expression on the campus. Because the school or university quite often leaves the student culture out in the solution of many of the problems and issues that arise in the college community, many times the students over-emphasize their own culture and revolt against the status quo. Because the high school and college student are equipped with a great amount of idealism, energy, and initiative, a vast multitude of activities spring up in the student culture.

The student's major problem becomes one of selection, or balance among a multitude of available activities, and it is not surprising that the student's political endeavors are often fixed at the level of

campus-queen elections and that the American co-ed is torn between an academic orientation and the strong stress of having a good time, being personally popular, and catching a mate. Thus students temper the selection of leisure activities many times in terms of their own points or attitudes. Socially, the male youth culture seems to lay emphasis on the value of certain qualities of attractiveness, especially in relation to the opposite sex. On the feminine side there is correspondingly a strong tendency to accentuate feminine attractiveness in terms of various versions of what may be called "glamour girl" pattern. Where the competitive aspect of dating is most prominent the glamour pattern seems heavily to predominate.

Crowning of Queens has been in the cultural heritage of various civilizations for many centuries. What its implications are today poses an inquiry. Is it to emphasize certain feminine qualities of attractiveness, beauty, or is it actually to choose the model for charm, decorum, and attributes of personality? Or is it that men unconsciously would like to keep the woman as a queen, free from men's clothes, on a pedestal? Or free from competition in his sphere of work? And why the slacks and masculine attire of women? Maybe the "slacks" bespeak the desire of women to be free of the "traditional pattern of domesticity?"

That "being a queen" is looked upon quite differently by different age-groups among college women graduates was brought home in an interview with some college alumnae who had finished college 10-15 years ago. They felt "it was a grand custom"; "My sister was a queen and I shall never forget how proud we were for her"; and "One of my sorority members was a queen—and we surely worked hard to have her elected." On the other hand, a young college graduate, out of college one year, said, "I wish I had never been selected a senior queen—I lost all my girl friends as a result"—also, "It is really no honor, as beauty isn't something you have achieved—you can't help what you were born with." Ascribed status in this case was much less important than achieved status. Also there is the paradox that the most unpopular girl may be the one who has just won a popularity contest.

Certainly the influence of the outside culture is present in many of the college customs and events. The artificiality and sometimes poor taste of campus life is not surprising when one views it in the light of certain aspects of American life as a whole. Fashion shows in campus buildings, the selection of queens for this or that organization, the so-called campus leaders parading as models for clothing stores or magazine publications—college does ape the outside world. If there is a queen for the town's special parades, why not a queen

for the sophomore class? Is it surprising that when college graduates go out into the world they are sometimes indistinguishable from their fellow-citizens who did not share their advantages—language no different, ideals the same, reading matter the same, etc.?

Very often alumni behavior on the campus of Alma Mater does not afford an example of social maturity. The story is told by a veteran alumni secretary of an exchange between himself and a professor as they witnessed a pitiful spectacle of alumni immaturity at homecoming. "There go your alumni," said the professor. "There go your former students," the secretary answered. "You had them for four or more years, and we have to take what you produce."

In an interview with an alumni secretary at a college not so long ago, upon inquiry as to alumni work he said, "It is difficult to establish our work because no institutional attitude has been built toward our Alma Mater—rather we have many contributions for special under-graduate groups on the campus to which specific alumni belonged." Good as the latter practice may be, it could show, however, that the student culture did not have the feeling of being a part of a greater whole in terms of objectives and goals.

However, among the raucous and glamorous activities of the campuses, there is evident more recently a new kind of school and college pride. The average student wants to do something—edit a magazine or newspaper, engage in dramatics or singing. Every day he is launching a new enterprise, inventing new projects, and there seems to be less time to think about college traditions. One of the things alumni are noticing is the reading of the newspaper—it never was done in their day! There is a broader and more balanced social system since the students are representative of practically all classes in our society. There are many bull sessions, formal discussions, evaluation and questioning of the content and purpose of what they study. The gentlemen's C or D is no longer fashionable, with draft boards scanning report-cards. It is hard to define college spirit today for it is in a state of transition.

The new spirit seems to have several qualities. It is more conservative and tradition, although not disappearing, seems to have less emotional fervor. Many types of student leadership are emerging. A trend toward democratic behavior is evident. Confused by transitional changes and overwhelmed by threat of war, the new spirit has not yet had a chance to develop.

Within the framework of most schools and colleges, the student culture, its recreational and extracurricular activities still become for the most part activities participated in after study, outside of class sessions, and after the academic demands of college or school life

have been fulfilled. Within the remaining free time students develop "on their own" a pattern of activity which tends to become student folkways. But the orientation of youth culture on their own may become irresponsible. It is probably due to this fact that this topic has been so often chosen for discussion.

Our problem then becomes: How can educators deal with student activities in the high school and on the college campus today?

First of all, as has been mentioned, student culture is a part of a total school culture and "the parts derive their properties from the whole." This would indicate that student culture should become a more integral part of each school or college in its total educational program. Students should have some share in making of policies and forming of the objectives for the institution of which they are a part. Student assessment and evaluation should continually take place to ascertain if they and their groups are operating within the total value framework and goals of the school or college. Each student group could assess its own mores and thereby try to change behavior that does not conform to its role within the total culture. School and college administrators and faculty should realize that student culture lies very close to the heart of the educational process and be active participants in providing an appropriate role for it and do more than just tolerate its existence. Student affairs have drifted away from faculty-student relationships and educational leadership or even awareness of their existence in some places. In such schools it should not be wondered why student movements, campus publications, intercollegiate athletics, Queens' Crowning, and social and political affairs should have reached problem stages in recent years.

The natural training instruments of extracurricular and recreational activities have been too often treated as if they were beneath the dignity of the educational process. Here is a function worthy of School Board and College Trustee recognition, and a standing committee of these organizations should span student life and activity.

Second, in putting the student culture more within the framework of the total institution, a careful analysis of the student mind and of their activities should be continually understood. In late secondary youth and at college age the student is at the height of his idealism and many movements and events in the outer culture beckon him. Adults from the outside culture seize upon the idealistic fervor of youth to promote all sorts of views and goals. Students should be alert to these forces and approach problems with open minds and suspended judgments. All activities in the student culture are self-expressions of the energy of youth and of the growing mind, both

of which need to be used to further more constructive approach to problems, or they may result in misguided idealism.

The adult who wishes to maintain a constructive influence upon youth behavior must refer continually to age-mate opinions and methods of doing things. He must understand their behavior in terms of its meaning for the student himself and in terms of student culture. He must consistently help students to integrate knowledge and behavior.

Rough initiations are mainly fun-infused activities imposed by upperclassmen, although they may reflect the general regulatory procedures of an institution or of the outside society. Deans have not done too much about them except to warn about not hazing illegally—a sort of middle step. How can really the upper-class student's perception of them be changed? Reading the regulations of one college group, one sees among many regulatory items the following under the term, "Neophytelledge": "I,—, member of the lowly neophyte class of —, before all these glorious upperclassmen, apologize beforehand for all the stupid and unforgivable mistakes a lowly freshman like myself will make."

In another school, after observing an orientation of new students in which upper-class students were assigned as leaders to small groups of freshmen and to guide them around the building and answer their questions, I had an interview with one of the upper-class leaders. Upon asking him how he felt after this experience, he said: "This has been one of the best experiences I have ever had in school. It made me feel of real worth to these younger students. The confidence they placed in me has been of real value and has made me grow in understanding new students' problems."

The latter was an initiation process as well as the former, but the students' perceptions were different. Perhaps new experiences and innovations need to be made to change perceptions of students.

Third, the student culture should be grounded in good organization. As we have noted, student activities in schools and on campuses are a confusion of valuable and valueless activities; many of them tend to be only fun-infused. Should they not be value-infused too? Sometimes those concerned with student affairs seem to follow students more often than they lead them. They are baffled and feel inadequate with the maze of student demands for self-expression. Perhaps we have come to the time when more organization is needed for the optimum functioning of the student culture. There may need to be a Recreational or Student Activities Coordinator whose functions might be consultation on leisure problems, wise use of activities, a clearing house for information and for stimulation of activities in

neglected program areas. Also some records on group behavior and individual behavior in the group may need to be kept and studied. The training of youth for responsible citizenship, self-study, self-discipline, community participation, and in general a maturing of social experiences should be a guided process. Maybe it should be required that every student during his four years in college or high school should accumulate a certain number of activity credits in recognized student activities—these credit hours being wisely divided between purely recreational pursuits and service functions. Publications, politics, social service, and community participation are illustrations of service activities which can form a real training ground for adult life. However, the great spontaneity and creativity of student culture should never be discouraged but rather stimulated and guided. The student participation in developing an organization for their program is also a basic technique in the learning process. In this a knowledge of group skills is a necessity.

One of the unfortunate assumptions of many faculty members and administrators is that the college way of life is the exclusive domain of the students, into which faculty should not move. A harmonious working relationship between faculty and students, with each exercising initiative on many occasions, is a prerequisite for full development of the educative influences of college living. However, fundamental questions of freedom and responsibility in the organization of campus life and basic attitudes about the role of students and of faculty have to be met squarely before good faculty-student relationship can develop.

Fourth, the student culture with its many activities could be more closely integrated with the school or college curriculum.

Extracurricular activities can be related to class work. What is the relationship of the political science classroom to campus politics? Campus elections might serve as training in the evaluation of issues, or platforms in relation to performance. Student governments sometimes fall short of providing models of legislative procedure. Perhaps their line of authority has not been defined. Superficial campus electioneering takes place. "Vote for Dick, he's a good ol' boy," or "Vote for Mary, she's a cute gal." Material provided for elections end up sometimes with beauty queens. Campus government should truly be an enterprise in community democracy, with both students and faculty participating. Shall we accept the pressure of school-society relations or exert a wholesome influence from the college upon the community?

Not only may extracurricular activities be integrated with curriculum—they could also be integrated with off-campus, immediate

community activities under the direction of a college, social research laboratory or a social studies department in high school. Through participation in organized business, social, recreational, and cultural activities on and off campus, students acquire valuable experience. They are a testing ground for initiative and leadership. They are designed to contribute to the development of the total personality.

The college can become more community-centered instead of campus-centered. Student culture then comes "into its own way of living" in a different relationship than functioning apart from the rest of the college or school community.

There is a recent example of a remark by a senior student who was a News Editor to his campus publication to one of his college teachers: "I mean no offense to my college professors but this campus job is more important to me and I have learned more in it than I have in all my classes put together since I have been in college." This student happened to be one who was continually at war with the administration and faculty.

The question is: What is he learning? Certainly he is not learning what a good relationship or counsel with a faculty member could contribute to him. Nor are his faculty realizing what help and training the classroom and subject matter might contribute to this student for help on his campus job.

In my visits to many Parent-Teacher-Student meetings on the secondary level, it is remarkable how some secondary school personnel and their students are working out with the parents and community people their social problems. Understandings are taking place between parents and youth that have never heretofore been accomplished. Actual social behavior codes are being formed in a satisfactory manner by parents, teachers, and students. Student culture is being brought into the realm of responsibility.

When this give and take between the classroom and student life problems and between the school and community happens more effectively, the student culture with its many activities will be a more integral part of the total college or school community and will become the laboratory for more mature educational and social experiences.

When clear administrative policies on campus and school activities and recreation are established, when sufficient responsible qualified leadership is located, when the student mind is understood, and when student participation and responsibility at all levels of planning and performance is abundantly provided, student culture and recreation should come of age and channel one of the greatest forces for educational growth into positive and student satisfying directions.

Janet A. Kelley is Professor of Education, City College of New York, New York.

A REPORT ON PATTERNS OF INTERACTION IN DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS¹

Robert J. Dwyer

The purpose of this paper is to note some conclusions based upon observation of Negro-white student interaction in a study of seven school districts in central Missouri, where desegregation had occurred in some form. The school districts were in communities with populations ranging from 2,460 to 30,000. Desegregation had been in process for one or two years in the schools studied. In no school was the Negro student population more than ten per cent of the total enrollment. The largest group observed consisted of fifty-five Negroes in a high school student body of approximately 550. The data were obtained by interviews with administrators, teachers and students, questionnaires completed by teachers, and direct observation by the writer.

The findings of the study were related to propositions suggested by Suchman, Dean and Williams in their paper "Desegregation: Some Propositions and Suggestions."² The following conclusions were drawn:

1. *The lower the age and grade level the more readily do students adjust to the process of integration.* Children on the elementary level do not have the inhibitions of those on the upper grade levels. In a kindergarten observed there appeared to be complete integration of the Negro children. The same pattern held true in other elementary schools in school systems where desegregation included the lower grades. In all cases of junior and senior high school level, Myrdal's "rank order of discriminations"³ operated to deter the process of integration in the situations defined as "social." Several administrators and teachers noted that at the fifth grade level the girls become conscious of social status and are cliquish. On the secondary level there appeared to be little difference with regard to adjustment to desegregation on the basis of age or grade level. That is, a thirteen-year old freshman met the situation with the same degree of ease or difficulty as an

¹ The data of this research was collected for an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, "A Study of Desegregation and Integration in Selected Schools of Central Missouri," Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Missouri, (1957).

² E. A. Suchman, J. P. Dean, R. Williams, "Desegregation: Some Propositions and Research Suggestions" (Ithaca: Cornell University, August, 1954), (Mimeographed.)

³ Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944), pp. 460-461.

eighteen-year old senior. It is significant that while children on the elementary level adjust the most readily, parents of these children express the most opposition to desegregation. In the opinion of the educators interviewed, the parents realize that their small children are not yet inhibited and they fear that the period of contact with Negro children on an equal basis will result in a complete lack of discrimination, and eventually to intimate contacts which may lead to intermarriage. Thus, because integration works so well in the elementary schools, it is there that the major parental opposition is encountered.

2. *Boys adjust to the integration process more readily than girls.* This pattern is true mainly in the junior and senior high schools, since there is little sex distinction below the sixth grade level. It has already been noted that the girls become conscious of social status when they are in the fifth or sixth grade, at about the age of puberty. As they develop toward adolescence, the sex factor becomes significant and there is little interaction between Negroes of one sex and whites of the opposite sex. This applies particularly to the situation involving a Negro boy and a white girl. Specific objections to intermingling were expressed more by girls than by boys interviewed. Dressing for gym classes, showering, eating, sitting together in class, were situations avoided by white girls when Negroes were involved. The leveling element of team sports was a factor in eliminating barriers to interaction among the boys. "Winning the game" and skill in performance are the major values in this area of interaction and color becomes less important.

3. *There are more informal associations on the elementary level than on the secondary level.* The nature of interaction of the elementary level is less formal than that which occurs on the secondary level. Games, songs, and movement around the classroom occur as part of the learning process in the lower grades. It is a short step from holding hands in a classroom game to holding hands on the playground at recess or when leaving the school building. Unless there is adult interference, children are more inclined to express their feelings spontaneously than are adolescents. During the period of observation it was not unusual to see Negro and white kindergarten children walking arm-in-arm or embracing one another affectionately, but the only bodily contact observed or reported on the high school level was in the form of wrestling or friendly jostling of white and Negro boys. Community mores tend to be more strictly applied to relationships between secondary level students than to the elementary school children.

4. *There is little carry-over from one interactional situation to another. A person's definition of interaction in one situation as appropriate is no indication of his feelings or behavior in a different situation. There are more cases of interaction in the less socially-intimate situations.* As each situation arises for the first time, it must be defined by those involved or those in control as appropriate or inappropriate. In most instances there was no precedent to follow, no cues, with regard to acceptable behavior within the desegregated schools. Situations which were taboo in the larger community culture were considered within the schools in terms of the moral and legal conceptions of "integration." In all cases studied, administrative policies were in accord with the Supreme Court's intent in pronouncing the "right" of Negro children to participate on an equal basis with white children in the public schools. Officially, all Negro students in the high schools observed were free to participate in all organized activities. In all cases the students were seated alphabetically or were permitted to choose their own classroom seats; they put on assembly programs and participated as members of a non-segregated audience; they played on varsity athletic teams; they were free to use the lunchroom on a non-segregated basis; they could hold student offices; and they could attend dances. Few objections were heard with regard to Negro students' participation in these activities and organized situations. However, in no instance was an after-school association defined as appropriate. Pains were taken in the high schools to avoid such situations as would be created by a "circle dance" or a "square dance," where the pattern of exchanging partners would throw Negro and white dancers together. In addition to the taboo on social intercourse, residential segregation and the force of community patterns of segregation in interactional situations served to prevent the transfer of acceptance of one situation to acceptance of certain other situations.

5. *The longer an integrated situation continues, the more likely it is that there will be an increase in interaction. That is, the second year of integration in a given school tends to result in interaction in more situations and in more spontaneous interaction between individuals than occurs in the first year, when there is likely to be some discomfort and tension.* Only three of the school systems studied in this research were in their second year of an integration program. White administrators, teachers and students were unanimous in their appraisal of the second year as being "more natural," with less tension than existed in the first year. Negro students all declared that they felt more comfortable and more a part of the group in the

second year. White students noted that the teachers "leaned over backwards" at first, but that in the second year they were beginning to "crack down" and treat the Negro students the same as white students. All teachers and students observed that in the second year the Negro students were less shy and generally more responsive in class.

The scope of this study was limited and it must be realized that regional and even local conditions have got to be considered when evaluating the movement toward integration. It is possible, however, that the findings on patterns of interaction in some desegregated schools of a border state may serve as a point of departure for further studies in the area of desegregation research. As more knowledge becomes available with regard to the factors which facilitate or impede Negro-white interaction in the schools, administrators may employ techniques to avoid potential tension-producing situations and to encourage interaction in situations which are readily defined as appropriate. Ability to anticipate with some degree of reliability the reactions of both student and community population in a specific set of circumstances would greatly facilitate the implementation of the integration process.

Robert J. Dwyer is Assistant Professor of Sociology at Idaho State College, Pocatello, Idaho.

DEVELOPING WORLD MINDEDNESS: LISLE, AN EXPERIMENT IN INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

Deborah Cannon Partridge

The "one world" concept of less than two decades ago has become a reality. For in less than a week we may circuit the globe. Science has physically brought us closer together, but we have yet to accomplish the more difficult feat—the development of a "One World Spirit," the building of a world society. We are generally agreed on the necessity of establishing such a world order if we are not to destroy ourselves in our very effort to preserve ourselves. We recognize that such an undertaking is perhaps the most difficult ever faced by the human race, and that it will require all the knowledge, wisdom, faith, and good will of which all peoples are capable. World peace must come—and with it world understanding. Such integrated living requires a re-thinking of one's philosophy and an analysis of the factors which will bring this dream to fruition.

Three dimensions are involved: (1) integration within the individual, (2) integration within the nation and other sub-groups, and

(3) complete integration on a world-wide scale. Let us pause and look more closely at each of these dimensions.

INTEGRATION WITHIN THE INDIVIDUAL

So much has been said in recent years about the integrated personality. What is it? How does it affect one's ability to relate to others? Why is it important in developing world consciousness? All of these are complex problems about which books could be written, so any treatment here would of necessity be quite superficial. However, because of the tremendous importance of the individual in achieving our final goal, we must begin with him in any consideration of integrated living.

The exact definition of "an integrated personality" differs from author to author with each emphasizing one aspect which has most meaning for him. For example, Blos¹ identifies four characteristics of the emotionally mature adult: "(1) sense of personal worth: (2) the capacity to distinguish between internal and external events, between feelings and facts; (3) capacity to tolerate a modicum of tension; and (4) self-realization in an accepted role." Hayakawa² stresses the creative aspect of the "fully functioning personality" noting that self-actualizing people are creative in their own way. He agrees with Carl Rogers that for the mature person "the process of evaluation is in the self." Finally, Hayakawa states, "the fully functioning personality is ethical in the deepest sense. He is deeply socialized . . . one of his own deepest needs is for affiliation and communication with others. When he is most fully himself—'selfish'—he cannot help but be most deeply identified with others too and therefore his orientation is social in the best sense."

Using this last point of emphasis, Clothier³ believes that mental health can be defined only in terms of the cultural or social milieu, calling attention to the fact that "attitudes, reaction patterns, and behavior that are normal and healthy for a Chinese youth would not (necessarily) be normal and healthy for a lad born and bred in New York."

Allport isolates three attributes of maturity: "(1) variety of psychogenic interests . . . which concern themselves with ideal objects and values beyond the range of viscerogenic desire; . . . (2) ability

¹ Peter Blos, "Aspects of Mental Health in Teaching and Learning," *Mental Hygiene*, 37:555-569, 1953.

² S. I. Hayakawa, "What are the characteristics of the sane individual? 'The Fully Functioning Personality,'" *A Review of General Semantics*, 13: 169-181, Spring 1956.

³ F. Clothier, "Education for Mental Health," *Mental Hygiene*, 35:560-570, 1951.

to objectify oneself, to be reflective and insightful about one's own life; and . . . (3) some unifying philosophy of life."

Despite their differences in terminology, Allport's⁴ "mature personality," Riesman's⁵ "autonomous person," Overstreet's⁶ "mature adult," Hayakawa's "fully-functioning personality," and Clothier's and Bloss' "good mental health"—all have a good deal in common, e.g., productivity or creativity, a well-integrated set of beliefs with allowances for flexibility and an insight that enables one to see himself and others as they really are.

This abstraction of the mature person may sound impossible for human beings to attain and yet in the recently organized World Federation for Mental Health in its statement on "Mental Health and World Citizenship" it was agreed that good mental health is a prerequisite to good international relations; "that insecure, maladjusted individuals are those who are easily led into hostility and war. Klineberg,⁷ therefore, raises the issue that "the improvement of mental health would make a significant contribution to the reduction of international hostilities, and would constitute a powerful factor in modifying attitudes in a direction favorable to peace. . . . Attitudes should not be viewed in isolation, but as a part of the total personality which in turn must be seen against the background of the total pattern of conditions in which an individual lives and moves."

Persons lacking such integration are insecure and immature. They are those who have great difficulty in developing attitudes conducive to international understanding and good will. They most often are the prejudiced. Allport⁸ digs deeper into the psychology of the prejudiced mind stating that "In all cases of intense character-conditioned prejudice . . . underlying insecurity seems to lie at the root of the personality. . . . The crutch he needs must perform several functions. It must give reassurance for past failure, safe guidance for present conduct, and ensure confidence in facing the future. While prejudice by itself does not do all these things, it develops as an important incident in the total protective adjustment." This theory is supported

⁴ Gordon Allport, *Personality: A Psychological Interpretation*, New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1937, Chapter 8.

⁵ D. Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd, a Study of the Changing American Character*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950, p. 48.

⁶ H. Overstreet and B. Overstreet, "Wanted: More Space for More Minds," *Saturday Review*, 39:7, 1956.

⁷ Otto Klineberg, "Creating Attitudes Conducive to International Understanding" in *Education for a World Society* edited by C. O. Arndt and S. Everett, N. Y., Harper & Brothers, 1951, p. 58-59.

⁸ Gordon Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*, Cambridge, Mass., Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1954, p. 396.

by two other studies. Bettelheim and Janowitz,⁹ in a study of veterans at the University of Chicago, found that "these data . . . support the hypothesis that the individual's stereotypes are not only vitally needed defense mechanisms, but are persistent, even under the impact of such immediate and realistic experiences as service with Jews and Negroes under conditions of war." In another study, Krech and Crutchfield¹⁰ stated, in essence, the same hypothesis, having found that " . . . frequently people are forced to perceive data that are contradictory to their beliefs and attitudes . . . if the belief or attitude involved is a strong one, the effect of such perceptions may be fleeting, for we know that not only is perception self-selective, but forgetting, too, is selective. Very soon after exposure, people may have forgotten the contradictory facts. . . . In memory, as in initial perception, then, beliefs and attitudes have self-protective devices."

This has been an oversimplification of the problem, for I would not have you believe (that I think) that only frustrated, insecure persons are hostile and prejudiced. We have insisted that a good deal of hostility against other groups is the result of social and cultural processes which have no direct relation to the deeper needs of the personality. However, we can agree, that such insecurity does contribute to the adoption of an extreme position of chauvinism and ethnocentrism in the attempt to satisfy the status needs.

INTEGRATION WITHIN NATION AND OTHER SUB-GROUPS

The task of building a world society, a "one world spirit," based on cultural pluralism is not based simply on the development of integrated personality, but involves several other courses of action: the reduction of ethnocentrism, an increased knowledge and appreciation of other cultures, and mutual respect among all human beings. The building of sound world relations *begins within nations*. Thus our second dimension is the development of integrated living within a nation and the sub-cultures of which it is composed.

Anthropologists, sociologists and psychologists have demonstrated the powerful influence of the culture as a dominant controlling educational force. They have defined "culture" "as the accumulated experience of a group." Each culture or society taken in its totality has its distinctive traits which individualize and differentiate it from all others.

All cultures are relatively organic. Thus inner relationships be-

⁹ Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz, *Dynamics of Prejudice*, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1950, p. 47.

¹⁰ David Krech and Richard Crutchfield, *Theory and Problems of Social Psychology*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1948, pp. 190-191.

tween the social institutions, mores, folkways, types of personalities produced within the culture may be seen. In a highly complex culture, such as ours, in which the advances of science, invention and technology are everywhere evident, this organic relationship is not so thoroughly maintained and certain areas of the culture lag behind and conflict with other areas.

The fact that our country is composed of many sub-groups and sub-cultures gives rise to still other problems and challenges. The contention that the group culture is an organic whole; that it moulds the institutions, folkways, mores, and behavior of the members of the society; that many intrinsic and subjective aspects of the culture are nevertheless potent forces of social control; that many of the rather subtle practices may be understood in the light of an historical evaluation of the culture; that the obvious aspects of a culture are first acquired by an incoming people, but that the tangible aspects of their "original" culture are the first to be sacrificed while the intangible ones are most persistent; all these principles of social change and their relationship to the educational process are particularly apropos to an understanding of the inter-group relations within America.

If minorities within nations are considered inferior and persecuted and if internal cultural differences are opposed and efforts made to eliminate them, it is pointless to talk about cultural pluralism at the world level.

For example, the presence in America of approximately 16 million Negroes gives rise to many attitudes, practices, interests, and problems, economically, socially, and politically. Sectional and regional differences in the historical background, population density and present standards of living of this group (and other minority groups) are sharp and varied. But a glance at Negro housing, the present problem of desegregating the Negro school, Negro workers, and general acceptance of the Negro in American life will reveal that there are differences in culture due to American attitudes toward race. The emphasis has been, so often, on the problem of the Negro in the South where segregation has been a legalized fact, but let us not forget that the problem of integration is not a Southern problem, but an All American one—as evidenced by the title of Gunnar Myrdal's book "An American Dilemma."

Nor is this a unique problem of Negro integration. Any investigation into the structure of American society will reveal the clear lines of class and caste differentiation. And, even though we talk about "all men being created equal" we have in fact shown differences in people based on their location on the social ladder.

Many of the most insightful materials on American inter-group

life have centered around the problem of the Jew in a gentile world. Adorno and Bettelheim have given clarity and understanding to many of the problems in this area.

Differences are even shown in sub-cultures within these broader ethnic and religious groups so that in many sections of the United States it would be well to be of Western European, Caucasian, Protestant background if you are to succeed.

Such conditions emphasize the importance of "getting our house in order" before trying to move into a world community.

INTEGRATION IN A WORLD COMMUNITY

The third dimension, the task of building integration in a world society, grows out of the previous two but is complicated by the wide range of differences between cultures. These cultural differences are the basis of misunderstanding, prejudice, conflict, and war. There are several possible approaches to cultural differences, the most positive of which is cultural pluralism. In such a framework, the diversity of cultures is valued and respected. This cultural pluralism offers us great wealth if viewed as an enriching factor in a world society.

A free world society fosters the individuality of its citizens. Personal individuality grows out of cultural individuality. Hence cultural pluralism between nations is necessary to a free world society. Such cultural democracy would bear the hallmarks of true freedom: freedom to perpetuate and develop one's own cultural traditions, and freedom for the individual citizen to follow the cultural pattern which provides for him the highest satisfactions in living. This does not imply nor encourage cultural isolation or segregation, for a free society depends upon both cultural diversity and interdependence. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights of the General Assembly of the United Nations bound us together by rights and freedoms to be enjoyed by all. These may be roughly divided into five categories: (1) rights to the person; (2) rights before the law; (3) political and civil rights; (4) social and economic rights; (5) educational and cultural rights. Thus we are slowly learning the true wisdom of classical antiquity when Epictetus declared, "The State has said that only freemen shall be educated, but God has said that only educated men shall be free."

THE LISLE WAY

It takes a long time to develop such a level of personal, group, and national maturity, for the mills of culture grind slowly, but they grind exceedingly well. A study of history reveals the gradual and continuous change in cultural patterns. No person is a fully functioning personality at birth and no culture appears and remains full-grown

like *Athena* fresh from her father's forehead, but each is the product of a long period of gestation, and must look toward certain deterioration. And thus as we come to our major task of developing truly integrated persons who can be at home in any culture among all peoples everywhere, we recognize that there is no panacea—no one best way. As Gordon Allport¹¹ sums up this multi-facet problem, he notes, "Since the problem is many-sided there is no sovereign formula, nor any single method so effective that it commands our primary allegiance. The wisest thing to do is to attack all fronts simultaneously. If no single attack has large effect, yet many small attacks from many directions can have large cumulative effects. . . . It seems probable that greatest value comes from programs that invite deep first-hand experience." Such is the program of the Lisle Fellowship.

Beginning in 1936 in the village of Lisle, New York (from whence the name Lisle Fellowship was taken) Edna and DeWitt Baldwin held their first international seminar. In 1946, after 10 years of growth which took Lisle units to California, Colorado, Michigan, Washington, D.C. and Connecticut, the program was incorporated under the laws of the State of New York as a non-profit membership association for educational purposes under the name, The Lisle Fellowship, Inc. The plans for 1957 include units to be held in California; Colorado; Michigan; Jamaica; British West Indies; Denmark; Germany; Nigeria; Japan and neighboring Asian countries; and a special educational tour to the Near East and Soviet Union. The headquarters are now located at the University of Michigan with a New York office at Freedom House.

From the beginning the emphasis was upon "World Peace through World Understanding." The forty young people assembled at the first seminar came from many colleges in many parts of the United States and foreign countries. They represented all the major races and many creeds and believed that intergroup understanding would be most easily achieved as they lived and worked together.

The plan then, as at present, followed a rather definite structure as far as the organization of the time for the six weeks period; however, the activities themselves were most unstructured. No two groups are alike, for planning is indigenous to the group. In general the following plan developed. The first week is dedicated to orientation. During this period the participants get acquainted with each other and the natural, social, and human resources at their disposal.

During the next four weeks the group develops its own dy-

¹¹ Gordon Allport, *The Resolution of Intergroup Tensions*, N. Y., National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1952, pp. 40-42.

namics and genuine group-consciousness emerges as the result of a series of alternating deputations and seminar sessions. Teams (these teams are different for each trip) of four to six go by invitation to live in other communities and institutions for four-day periods. Their experiences are as varied as the places to which they go and their own abilities. This diversity may be noted in the activities which one participant reported: planning for a community homecoming; direction of a community center for migratory laborers; teaching in a Daily Vacation Bible School; planning a one-day Institute for a Business and Professional Women's group; planning recreation for a large factory picnic and participation in a College Assembly program. The people welcome the Lislors and in most instances, are convinced that the Lisle team can make a real contribution to the community or institution, and above all they are interested in the individuals of which the teams are composed. For many communities it is their first experience in observing interracial, interethnic, international, interfaith groups at work.

Following each deputation or field trip the team returns to home base for seminar discussion and evaluation. Individual reports are written and the team analyzes its experiences. There is a sincere attempt made to note activities which could be improved. The oral sharing of these experiences tends to bring more clearly and sharply into focus the real learnings which have taken place during the field trip.

Students soon learn that the success of this team experience, depends to a large extent, upon the individual's contribution. Careful attention is given to the personal growth of each participant and interpersonal relationships. As the individual makes a personal inventory of his experiences, he comes to view realistically his assets and needs.

During the last week the final evaluation takes place. An effort is made to provide an interpretation and an understanding of what has taken place and what is involved in the process of group living. An attempt is made to relate the insights and generalizations to the practical problems of living in their own home communities. For the real test of the Lisle experience can only be measured in the improved living after leaving Lisle.

HOW DOES LISLE MEET THIS THREE-DIMENSIONAL PICTURE?

First, Lisle is "person-centered." Throughout all of the Lisle philosophy and modus operandi one may note that it is the *person* not the *program* which serves as the core of the experience. This means that persons and their relationships come first, that the pro-

gram is flexible and dynamic, that activities are opportunities and subjects arise out of experiences.

With such a point of emphasis one readily notes that Lisle recognizes that World understanding depends upon personal integration and mature inter-personal relations.

Lisle believes in the community! The team approach is centered around this concern. Such community understanding serves as a forerunner to the development of a world society.

Finally, Lisle is "Worldminded." Great care is exercised in the selection of its participants who are representative of all nations and races and creeds. As Lisle has grown, care has been given to the location of units in varying types of communities and cultures. Thus the Lisle Fellowship offers an intercultural and intergroup program, in which each member may begin to develop a "fully functioning personality"; a philosophy and understanding of the community, nations and its sub-groups; and "an understanding world-consciousness upon which international institutions may be built."

As Lisle units (and other such noteworthy experiments in international understanding) are expanded, we can look with hope to the day when the "one-world spirit" will be a reality and men will "beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

King James Version—Isaiah 2:4

Deborah C. Partridge is a member of the Department of Education, Queens College, Flushing, New York.

A COMPARISON OF NEGRO PUPILS RANKING HIGH WITH THOSE RANKING LOW IN EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

Raymond E. Schultz

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Studies have consistently shown that Negro pupils compare rather poorly with white pupils on educational achievement.¹ One of the most comprehensive studies of the educational achievement of Negro pupils was made by Foreman. Data were collected on 10,023 third and sixth grade pupils. He concluded that the educational achievement of these pupils was greatly influenced by the schools they attended and the communities in which they resided.²

The study reported here was undertaken in an effort to identify some of the specific factors other than the school attended that differentiated a group of Negro pupils who ranked high from a group who ranked low in educational achievement.³

METHODS EMPLOYED

The population for this investigation consisted of the 50 Negro pupils in one Florida county who scored highest on a standardized achievement test and 50 Negro pupils in the same county who scored low on this test. This latter group was selected from pupils whose ability, as measured by the Iowa School Ability Test (a test of ability to succeed in school, placed them *above* the lowest 16th percentile of ninth grade Negro pupils in 20 Florida counties. This was done to eliminate those pupils who essentially lacked the ability to succeed in academic studies.

These pupils were all ninth graders who had been administered the Iowa Test of Educational Development and the School Ability Test late in 1956. There was a total of 354 ninth grade Negro pupils who took these tests in the county used for the study. Though the Iowa Test of Educational Development provides scores on five separate tests, the composite of these five scores was used as the index of educational achievement.

The two groups, i.e., the high achievement group and the low achievement group, were compared on the following factors:

1. Age at the time the tests were administered
2. Home status, i.e., whether the pupil was living with two parents (actual or foster)

¹ For a review of such studies see Horace M. Bond, "Negro Education" *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*, rev. ed., Walter S. Monroe, ed., Macmillan Co., New York, 1950, pp. 782-83.

² Clark Foreman, *Environmental Factors in Negro Elementary Education*, W. W. Norton Co., New York, 1932, 88 pp.

³ What is referred to as high and low achievement here is based on Negro pupil norms.

3. Occupation of the head of the household
4. Occupation of the mother
5. Highest grade completed in school by parents
6. Consistency of school attendance

Information on these factors was secured from the pupils' records available in the schools which they are attending. This was supplemented by information secured directly from the pupils.

FINDINGS

No information was available for 9 of the 100 pupils. Two of these were from the high achievement group and 7 from the low achievement group. Rather complete data were obtained for the remaining 91 pupils with the exception of Items 5 and 6. For both the high and low achievement groups, the level of parental educational attainment was available for only 50 per cent of the cases. Obtaining this information directly from pupils had to be ruled out because they were uninformed. Time did not permit contacting these parents directly.

An attempt was made to secure figures on consistency of school attendance in grades 7, 8 and 9 through February 1957. However, many of the pupils had changed schools upon completion of grade 8, and records of their previous attendance were not available. Therefore, it was possible to obtain a comparison of attendance for only the ninth grade from September 1956 through February 1957.

Before presenting the findings, a word of explanation is needed on the similarity of the two groups with respect to ability. It has been noted that pupils of inferior ability were eliminated because this fact alone could expect to account for their low achievement. When the low achievement group that was used for the comparison was assessed with respect to ability (as measured by the School Ability Test) a notable fact is observed. Exactly half of the group possessed a degree of ability that placed them above the 33rd percentile of the Negro pupils on which the norms were established. However, not a single pupil in this group obtained a composite achievement score that placed him above the 33rd percentile.

By contrast, while the high achievement group was generally characterized by high ability, 20 or nearly half of these pupils received percentile scores that *exceeded* their percentile scores on the ability test by 15 or more percentile points. This indicates that an appreciable number of them were achieving in excess of what would be predicted on the basis of their tested ability. Stated another way, their relatively superior achievement seems to be accounted for by reasons other than ability.

Following is a summary of the findings obtained when the two groups were compared:

1. Comparison by age
 - a. Median age of the low achievement group = 15.3 years
 - b. Median age of the high achievement group = 14.3 years
2. Comparison by home status
 - a. 62 per cent of the low achievement group lived with two parents (real or foster)
 - b. 82 per cent of the high achievement group lived with two parents (real or foster)
3. Median number of children in family
 - a. Low achievement group = 5.5 children
 - b. High achievement group = 3.6 children
4. Employment status of parents
 - a. 42 per cent of the low achievement group had both parents employed
 - b. 91 per cent of the high achievement group had both parents employed
5. Occupations of parents
 - a. 5 per cent of the parents of the low ability group were employed as professional or white collar workers⁴
 - b. 20 per cent of the parents of the high ability group were employed as professional or white collar workers
 - c. Most of the remainder of both groups were employed as unskilled laborers or domestic workers. The remainder were divided among such occupations as the building trades, porters, janitors, and cab drivers
6. Educational status of parents (of those on which data were available)⁵
 - a. Elementary School Attendance
 - (1) 50 per cent of the parents of the low achievement group had completed *less* than the 7th grade.
 - (2) 10 per cent of the parents of the high achievement group had completed *less* than the 7th grade.
 - b. High School Attendance
 - (1) 80 per cent of the parents of the low achievement group had completed *less* than the 10th grade

⁴ Professional employment included teachers and ministers exclusively and white collar workers consisted primarily of salesmen and military officers.

⁵ The reader is reminded that this information was obtained for only half of each group.

- (2) 29 per cent of the parents of the high achievement group had completed *less* than the 10th grade
- c. High School Graduation
 - (1) 12 per cent of the parents of the low achievement group had *graduated* from high school
 - (2) 53 per cent of the parents of the high achievement group had *graduated* from high school
- d. College Graduation
 - (1) 4 per cent of the parents of the low achievement group had *completed* four or more years of college
 - (2) 27 per cent of the parents of the high achievement group had *completed* four or more years of college
- 7. Consistency of school attendance during 120 school days of the ninth grade.
 - a. Average days absent by the low achievement group = 5.24
 - b. Average days absent by the high achievement group = 2.93
 - c. 42 per cent of the pupils of the low achievement group were absent 7 or more days.
 - d. 15 per cent of the pupils of the high achievement group were absent 7 or more days.
 - e. 26 per cent of the pupils of the low achievement group were absent one or less days.
 - f. 52 per cent of the pupils of the high achievement group were absent one or less days.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS

An important consideration in interpreting these findings is whether the group included in the investigation can be considered representative of Negro pupils in Florida. Since the size of this sample was small and restricted to one grade in a single county, no claim can be made that it is representative with respect to personal characteristics of Negro pupils in Florida. However, with respect to levels of academic achievement, the group did represent extremes of ninth grade Negro pupils throughout the state.

When viewing the results of these comparisons, two related facts stand out. One is the positive relationship between the parents' level of educational attainment, as represented by the years of school completed, and the educational achievement of these pupils. This supports the findings of other studies. Several explanations would seem to account for this relationship. They include:

1. The more education parents have the more value they see in it. As a result, they exert a positive influence on their children to set relatively high goals of expectation.

2. As parents become better educated they tend to do more reading which both sets an example for the child and results in the availability of reading material in the home.
3. The very fact that parents and children live in a close relationship results in children learning from their parents. The more educated parents are, the more their children are likely to learn from them things which are related to the school's educational objectives.

It is reasonable to expect, then, that as the educational level of the adult Negro rises, there will be a corresponding increase in the level of educational achievement of their children. Since the average number of years of education completed by Negro youth today is appreciably higher than that of their parents, we can expect the Negro pupil of tomorrow to exceed the present levels of Negro achievement.

Some idea of the magnitude of the change that is occurring in the years of school completed by Negro youth in Florida can be gained from the 1950 United States Census reports. This data shows that in 1950 only 22 per cent of the Negro population over 25 years of age had attended school beyond the eighth grade.⁶ (These are the parents of today's pupils). That same year, according to this report, 93 per cent of all Florida youth age 14 and 15 were enrolled in school. (This figure is not broken down by race). When the children of these youth enter school, the average educational level of their parents will be greatly increased over what it is today.

Besides receiving more education than his parents, in terms of years, the Negro pupil in Florida during very recent years has apparently been receiving a better education. To illustrate, during the 1939-40 school year, the expenditure for instruction per pupil in average daily attendance in Florida was \$51.96 for white and \$23.09 for Negro pupils.⁷ Stated in percentage, this meant that the per pupil expenditure for Negro pupils was only 44 per cent of that for white pupils. In 1950, this same expenditure was \$156.04 for white and \$131.79 for Negro pupils. On a percentage basis, this per pupil expenditure for Negroes was 84 per cent of that for white pupils.

Another indication of improved quality of Negro education is the increased expenditure for capital outlay and current expenditures.⁸ While this source gave no breakdown between white and Negro pupils for these items, the Florida per pupil expenditure for them

⁶ U. S. Bureau of Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1950, Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population, Part 10, Florida, Chapter B, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., 1952, pp. 38-38.

⁷ These figures are from Truman M. Pierce, et. al., *White and Negro Schools in the South*, Prentice Hall, 1955, p. 165.

⁸ *Ibid.*

increased from \$18.21 for the 1939-40 school year to \$118.41 in 1951-52.

The above figures indicate that to the extent that expenditure constitutes an index of equality, educational opportunity for Negroes in Florida has, until recently, been far from "equal" to that of white pupils. This increased expenditure on Negro education is probably beginning to be reflected in school achievement. An interesting side-light with respect to the figures quoted by Pierce is the relation of expenditures for Negro education in Florida compared to other Southern States. Florida's 1950 per pupil expenditure of \$131.79 for Negro schools was by far the highest of any Southern State. The next closest was Texas with a per pupil expenditure of \$119.92. Mississippi was low with a per pupil expenditure of only \$32.68.

The other fact that stands out in this study is the relationship between family socio-economic status and pupil achievement. This point is borne out in several ways. One is that for the high achievement group both parents were reported as being employed in 91 per cent of the cases compared with only 42 per cent of parents for the low achievement group. Family size was appreciably smaller for the high achievement group; more parents were employed in professional and white collar occupations; and considerably fewer of them were from broken homes than was the case for the low achievement group.

Appreciable improvement for the Negro with respect to socio-economic status is much more complex and difficult than simply improving his educational level. While raising the level of educational attainment is a necessary pre-requisite for improved socio-economic status, it does not assure such improvement. Change in socio-economic status also necessitates occupational opportunity. The absence of such opportunity stifles the incentive to obtain education and places little premium on excellence. More disconcerting is the frustration that occurs when the capable Negro youth, who has advanced educational training, cannot utilize his specialized training and is forced into accepting employment in unskilled occupations. Only to the extent that broadened employment opportunities are made available to the educated Negro we can expect any significant upgrading in the educational achievement of his children. Improved economic status can be expected to produce better health through improved medical care and diet, smaller families, increased home stimulation to achieve in school, more satisfactory home conditions for study and learning, and motivation to excel in school as a means of advancing socially and economically. These conditions will, in turn, result in an upgrading of the educational achievement of Negro pupils.

Raymond E. Schultz is Associate Professor of Education, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida.

COUNSELING, CONFUSION, AND SOCIAL THEORY

Vincent F. Calia

THE PRACTITIONER'S DILEMMA BOSTON UNIVERSITY JUNIOR COLLEGE

This writer has been continuously plagued by the many inconsistencies and contradictions prevalent in counseling theory, practice, and research. The theoreticians either get so involved in creating and then trying to define intervening variables or become so entrenched in their own operational quagmire that they can't see "the end for the means." Hopefully, the practitioner examines the multitude of available research and is rewarded with the importance of the criterion variable in research, the inherent pitfalls of computing and interpreting reliability and validity co-efficients, the promise of the new Q-Technique, "The Trouble with Q-Technique," "Q Technique: Its Rise and Fall," "P-Technique, a Promising Research Tool," "The Trouble with P-Technique," and so on it goes. Somewhat confused at this point, but nevertheless determined, the practitioner turns to the seemingly fruitful meandering of the clinician. The case study approach, the resulting one case generalizations, the emphasis on the intuitive and affective aspects, the multitude of intangibles and, in army parlance, the seemingly haphazard "Kentucky windage and Tennessee" elevation approach to clinical work in general and counseling in particular, leaves the foundering practitioner conceptually breathless. Finally, in despair, the practitioner locates the antithetical contributions of the pure-research clinician, the professional schizophrenic. The practitioner reads of their ethical aches and pains in shifting from one role to another. He reads further of the need for closer communication between the two areas, but finds channels for such communication lacking.

It is not the sole intent of the writer to wantonly criticize the confusing state of affairs in counseling, but rather attempt to locate some of the difficulties and attempt a piece-meal, highly unoriginal and perhaps far from satisfying compromise solution. The solution represents a direction in counseling that has heretofore been ignored in practice, discussed informally if idealistically at conventions and rarely mentioned and considered in the journals of research, and other formalized avenues of communication.

THE SINE QUA NON OF COUNSELING

Eminent psychological theorists of today bewail the need for relating the individual to the "greater whole." Counselors are warned

not to lose sight of the "broad perspective." In spite of these occasional reminders, a kind of "social vacuum" approach to counseling ideology and methodology persists to this day. The need for a broader perspective would suggest the need for a kind of theory that is more all-inclusive, that deals not only with the isolated individual, but with the area that surrounds, engulfs, immanently affects and interacts with the behavior and structure of the individual, viz, *relations*; relations with things, with people, with institutions, with oneself. In essence, the social implications of behavior have become increasingly neglected in both counseling theory and practice. Perhaps what is needed is a recapitulation in counseling theory to the Sullivan-Horney era of inter-personal relations.

The need for a social re-orientation in counseling theory and practice suggests the lack of a consistent socio-psychological frame of reference in which the counselor can effectively operate.

COUNSELING METHODOLOGY AS A FUNCTION OF SOCIAL THEORY

By way of illustrating the kinship of counseling to social theory it may be well to relate some central counseling concepts to a small number of familiar but radically different social schemes.

Atomism. The phenomenological approach, currently in vogue, appears to be an outgrowth of the atomistic school of rugged individualism with its emphasis on the "private world" of the individual. What the individual perceives is real, and it becomes the task of the skillful counselor to "see things" from the counselee's frame of reference. The counselor-counselee relationship is one of equality, characterized by lack of authority. Emphasis is placed on creating an atmosphere of permissiveness, acceptance, and understanding. The counselee is allowed freedom of expression, so long as the private rights of the counselor are respected (e.g., Physical violence is prohibited).

The self-concept or "private world" of the individual receives most of the attention in atomistic counseling. The individual is encouraged to "talk about himself," his needs, his frustrations, his aspirations, his strengths, his weaknesses, his past, his future. The *self* is all-consuming, all-important. The ends of counseling stress individual gains only: decrease in tension, increased growth and maturity, independence, increased skill in interpersonal relations, and a concomitant rise in occupational status and class mobility.

In essence, the individual is the end in counseling, to which everything else (methods, theory and counselor) is the means.

There are, of course some variations of atomistic counseling. Warner (6) suggests that since a class system in a democracy is

inevitable, it becomes the task of the counselor in an educational setting to be as realistic and candid as possible, since there is not room enough for everyone at the top. Thus, while the counselor assumes a more aggressive role, the individual is still granted the prerogative of freedom of choice. Again, the emphasis is placed on class mobility, rugged individualism and inalienable rights.

Organicism. Central counseling concepts in, say a fascistic society would probably stress such terms as the "public world" of the citizen, "directive" counseling, ego-ideal and superego. These latter two terms refer to the state concept of the ideal citizen and the will and conscience of the state. It becomes the task of the counselor to inculcate the values of the state. The individual is encouraged to grow in the direction of a universally-defined citizen-ideal. There can be no "private world" or concept-of-self, since the very being of the individual is given to him by the state. The counselee-citizen must see himself only as an instrument to the ends of the state. It is interesting to note that an important criterion of recovery, in regard to the psychiatrically-disturbed, in the Soviet State, is not freedom from tension, or increased skill in interpersonal relations, but the ability to function effectively on the job or on the farm. Likewise, considerable emphasis for cure is placed on methods of physical insult and occupational therapy. Since increased production is essential to the preservation, improvement, and expansion of the state, all methods and techniques are directed towards the attainments of these fundamental ends.

Corporatism. Dewey, Jordon, Tawney and our present day Walter Lipman subscribe to the corporate theory of social structure. Corporatism represents an attempt to meet the criticisms associated with the two points of view discussed above. It is a blending of the particular (in philosophical terms) with the universal (i.e., diversity within uniformity). Society serves as a means to the ends of the individual, and in turn the actions and ends of the individual promote and develop the ends of society. Corporatism stresses a mutuality and identity of ends and means, an interdependence of individuals, institutions, and society. The corporate society is a classless society that would relegate status not to the acquisition of wealth and class mobility, but to the performance of functions. A function is thought of as the performance of a service having a social purpose. Occupations are not associated with a class system having differential status and prestige and promoting isolated individual ends, but rather as a function, vital to the individual, to the institution for which he works, and to the society in which he lives.

The corporate counselor would probably think in terms of the

"corporate world" rather than the "private world" of the individual. While the atomist would imply that the self-concept is to a large extent an isolated, given, and unique entity, the corporatist would theorize about a "corporate-self," a related interdependent, bio-social concept. The corporatist cries, "*we are what we are, in and through relations.*"

The corporate approach to counseling would utilize both the internal and external frame of preference to relate the individual to reality and to clarify his position and purpose in the general scheme of things. Both the actions and ends of the individual and society must be clarified and evaluated, for it is not the self-concept that needs clarification, reorganization, and assimilation, but the corporate-self—a connected, intrinsically related bio-social concept.

The counselor as a member of the corporate society is aware that he is functioning in a culture that has a core of relatively stable social norms, and a common system of values that are definable at the level of social conduct. It is apparent then, that direction in counseling is culturally defined, and if on occasion the client seeks the solution to a problem involving values, or resulting in the adoption of an anti-cultural alternative, it is the task of the counselor (not in the role of God, but as a representative of what is real and ideal) to commit himself accordingly.

This would imply that the counseling process is not characterized by freedom from restraints. Lippman (2) would not define freedom of speech as the total disregard for restraints. Crying "fire" in a theatre in which there is no fire cannot mean freedom of speech.

The counselor's use of the cultural core as a frame of reference does not mean conformity in the sense of a rigid and static concept of adjustment. It means, instead, creativity within uniformity, uniqueness and stability, autonomy and social purpose.

The corporatists' emphasis on relations, interpersonal behavior and the interdependence of individuals and institutions suggests the increasing need for group methods of counseling. Individual counseling be supplemented by techniques, stressing group deliberation and processes.

The resulting increased skill in interpersonal relations is not to be thought of in the atomistic sense of manipulating people for selfish ends, but rather the cooperative "working through" of problems relevant to the growth and development of the individuals composing the group and having repercussions beyond that.

SUMMARY AND CRITIQUE

It is not the purpose of this article to examine exhaustively the detailed relationships of the three social theories considered. Rather,

an attempt was made to illustrate the resulting confusion and inconsistencies prevalent in counseling ideology having a socially isolated conceptual scheme. The significance of three social theories in regard to a number of counseling concepts was further considered, with particular regard for the contributions of the corporate scheme.

Atomism is said to result in unrestrained egoism, the oppression of the weak, class antagonism, war and the negation of life. Similarly, organicism becomes identified with the ends of the ruling element, resulting in mass subordination, expansion, war, and again, the negation of life. By identifying the means and ends of society with those of the individuals that compose it, stressing interpersonal relations and interdependence of people and functions, corporatism attempts to meet the criticisms of the previous two social systems.

IMPLICATIONS FOR COUNSELING

1. A major contribution of the corporate scheme suggests that the counselee is affected by and, in turn, affects his socio-cultural milieu. Individual growth in counseling must be evaluated in terms of broader social objectives.

2. Passive exploration and clarification represent what Neff (3) refers to as a "retreat to neutrality." There are times in a counseling relationship when a counselor *must* commit himself.

3. A recent study by Pearl (4) suggests that the group process is superior to individual therapy as a method of effecting attitude change in regard to ethnocentrism. It would appear that individuals need the experience of participating in groups if relationships are to be fostered and improved. Both individual and group methods are deemed essential to the total counseling process, if the ends of counseling are to be attained.

4. The heretofore forbidden areas of values, philosophy of life and purpose should be considered the vital but hardly exclusive province of the effective counselor. The fine points of dogma, doctrine or theology need not concern nor deter the general counselor as long as he operates within the dictates of the cultural core. When problems of a theological nature arise, pastoral referral may be warranted.

5. Group methods may well be the solution to the dilemma of the theoretician, research worker and the clinician. John Dewey's (5) proposal of the "application of cooperative intelligence as displayed in science" to areas other than technological, may well be the answer. The scientific method does not appear to be the exclusive domain of the "white rat" experimentalist. Putting our "collective heads" together and sharing information, pooling and exchanging ideas, discussing implications and possible interpretations, and modifying our

theories and practices in light of all this may well resolve a long standing dilemma. National and local professional organizations such as the *American Psychological Association* and its many sub-branches may well provide the machinery for inter-disciplinary organization. Sheer speculation, unfounded and untested counseling practices, inconsistent outcomes, unwarranted assumptions: such are the data that the research worker may "take away" with him for controlled experimentation, following crosssectional group deliberations. The practitioner, on the other hand, may note discrepancies between his practice and the newer research findings, clarify implications of recent findings, adopt more promising conceptual schemes and develop methods and techniques that are in keeping with the new research. The correlation of private and public ends and its significance for progress and growth is seen to apply to the whole counseling process, affecting the theoretician, clinician, and client alike.

6. A further aspect regarding the consolidation of resources, is the trend toward group research. In fact, cooperative ventures are not unusual at the pre-doctorate level. While individual initiative and pioneering are not to be discouraged, group projects do offer the advantages commonly associated with the "two heads are better than one" concept. The development of individual initiative and the ability to work with others are the necessary pre-requisites of all research specialists.

DANGERS

Katz (1) warns of the conceptual confusion prevalent in systems relating social concepts to concepts of behavior. "If anthropology is on a different level of interpretation than psychology of the same phenomenon, then we can not talk about the interdependence of the phenomenon."

Assuming, "we are what we are, in and through relations," the implication is, without relations we are nothing! Hence it is not a question of different conceptual levels, but one and the same level of interpretation.

While the corporative scheme would appear to offer advantages not afforded by other systems, the author cannot accept its theoretical postulates in toto. Followed to its logical conclusion, the precepts of corporatism and their implicit extensions possess a strong socialistic-Marxist bent. To the extent that such a system stresses the importance of social-relatedness, the interdependence of individuals, functions and institutions, and encourages change and diversity within the frame-work of a stabilized structure; to this extent then is corporatism positive in its contributions. The author cannot, however, accept its agnostic, materialistic implications. The counselor, functioning

solely within a cultural context need not inculcate his spiritual values, but neither must he convey the notion that culture is finite, for such a conception would transcend the notion of unrestrained egoism prevalent in the atomistic society.

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Vincent F. Calia is Instructor in Guidance, Boston University Junior College, Boston, Massachusetts.

FOREIGN STUDENT REACTIONS TO AMERICAN COLLEGE LIFE

Lionel R. Olsen and William E. Kunhart

American colleges and universities are performing a vital service in improving our international relations with countries throughout the world. This is being done through education of increasing numbers of foreign students in our American colleges and universities.

American educators working with foreign students realize that the presence of these students in our colleges and universities provide educational problems and opportunities. Certain of these problems are of an academic nature resulting from the inexperience of the foreign student with the English language and other aspects of the learning process. In addition, visiting students also experience personal problems which arise from a multiplicity of intercultural differences.

How are foreign students meeting these sociological and cultural stresses resulting from attending institutions of higher learning in the United States? The writers studied the reactions of foreign students from the following countries: Afghanistan, Argentina, British Guiana, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Egypt, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Guatemala, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Italy, Jamaica, Japan, Korea, Lebanon, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru, Philippines, Puerto Rico, Russia, Samoa, Switzerland, Syria, and Turkey.

Each foreign student was asked to respond to the following questions: "What do you like most about our college?" "What do you dislike most about our college?" These respondents totalled 133 foreign students attending two junior colleges and three four-year colleges. Analysis indicated that these students were concerned with one or more of three general aspects of college life: Human relations, physical properties of campuses, and courses and programs.

HUMAN RELATIONS

The greatest number of foreign student replies pertained to the human relations aspect of college life. This area totalled 168 responses (46 percent of the total replies). Of this total those mentioning pleasant, satisfying human relations (positive human relations) numbered 126; those mentioning unpleasant contacts (negative human relations) totalled 42.

Students were favorably impressed by friendliness and helpfulness of the faculty both in and out of the classroom. These same qualities were appreciated in fellow students. Conversely, foreign students disliked aloofness on the part of native students; occasionally a foreign student mentioned a particular instructor's technique that he found confusing and not productive of learning.

PHYSICAL PROPERTIES OF CAMPUSES

The second most frequently mentioned area involved the physical properties of campuses. Responses in this category numbered 114 (31 percent of the total); positive and negative replies totalled 58 and 56 respectively.

Students liked to have adequate library facilities, spacious student lounges, comfortable classrooms, uncrowded cafeterias, and mild weather. Foreign students were favorably impressed when the college campus was relatively close to the local community. Negative responses mentioned these same physical aspects of college if they were considered inadequate.

COURSES AND PROGRAMS

The remaining foreign students responses pertained to college courses, programs, rules and regulations. Included in a total of 85 responses in this area (23 percent of the replies) were 63 positive and 22 negative responses.

Students liked having a large variety of courses from which to choose, an adequate counseling program, small classes, a broad selection of extra-curricular activities, a nine month rather than a twelve month school year, and a co-educational, non-tuition college. Special dislikes included inadequately planned activities for foreign students,

certain registration procedures, poor counseling and vocational guidance, and extra fees for the foreign or out-of-state student.

COUNSELING IMPLICATIONS

The results of the study indicate some of the many areas of campus life in which foreign students are required to make adequate adjustments. These particular students apparently feel the most need for satisfying human relations, judging from their statements of likes and dislikes of college life. Educators working with foreign students, therefore, perform a definite service by assisting students from foreign lands in making satisfying ties of friendship with native students and faculty.

One obvious method of facilitating the formation of friendships is through meetings involving American students and those from other lands. Foreign student advisors promote such meetings by encouraging various campus organizations to undertake these projects. Such "get-togethers" have the additional value of allowing foreign students to observe and practice the techniques of group behavior. Expressing this need much less academically a young woman from a foreign land said: "I have read about how you act at a party, but I would like to see how it works."

American educators need to be constantly aware of the cultures from which students come; they are thus in a position to be of greater assistance to foreign students with personal problems arising from cultural conflict. As an illustration of such a problem:

Sir, I am a disgrace and a disappointment to my family. (This is told to a counselor as the student stands at rigid attention before his desk.) I am ashamed of my actions and my habits. If my parents find out what I have been doing they will deport me to my homeland. Oh, Sir!, I am so ashamed of my actions . . . I have been going to the town and playing snooker when I should be studying my lessons. I know this is evil, Sir. I want you to help me!"

Educators working with foreign students should be individuals capable of appreciating the differing values and perceptions that foreign students bring to the campus environment.

The interest of foreign students in the physical properties of the colleges concerned in the study probably includes relatively the same types of likes and dislikes that American students would express. Libraries, cafeterias, classrooms, and student lounges are all part of the day to day college lives of both native and foreign students. Those special facilities, however, that are particularly designed for foreign students, (such as housing), deserve the periodic attention of foreign

student advisors. When inadequacies are discovered counselors may encourage the proper officials to make the needed corrections.

Particularly helpful to the foreign student who is newly arrived on the campus is an orientation to the physical properties of the campus. This assists the student to overcome in quick manner any of the problems unique to the campus that may prevent the newcomer from fully utilizing the physical facilities of the strange environment. College instructors and counselors either perform these orientation services themselves or encourage various student organizations to assume the responsibility as special projects.

The likes and dislikes that foreign students in this study expressed regarding college courses and programs indicate certain needs. The newcomer requires special assistance in selecting a program that is in keeping with his command of the English language. The comments of these students pertaining to broad extra-curricular offering emphasizes the need for wholesome recreational activities. Often the foreign student has a meager understanding of the rules and regulations governing student conduct, this misunderstanding often accounts for the dislike expressed by students in discussions of rules and regulations.

Adequate assessment of the foreign student's level of language facility is a particularly important counselor service. In the event this English competency is so low as to seriously handicap the newcomer the foreign student educator may arrange for individual tutoring; reading materials of various levels of difficulty are sometimes helpful. The improvement of language facility not only promotes better adjustment to the academic courses and programs, but it also helps the foreign student in developing satisfying human relationships.

It seems likely that going to college in America represents a greater adjustment problem for a foreign student than for a native born student. The newcomer's dependence upon adequate counseling from an understanding foreign student advisor is a need of considerable magnitude. From the present study, representing the attitudes of 133 foreign students, it appears that these students place emphasis upon three areas of college life: human relations, physical properties of campuses, and courses and programs. The contributions made in these areas assists the foreign student in making a more profitable and satisfactory adjustment to American life.

Lionel R. Olsen is Dean of Student Personnel, Hartnell College, Salinas, California. William E. Kunhart is Counselor, Hartnell College, Salinas, California.